

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 6217

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR YO US

SUBJECT : EFFECT OF HOSTILE FORCES CAMPAIGN ON US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS

REF : A. BELGRADE 6071, B. ZAGREB 942, C. ZAGREB 954, D. BELGRADE
6172

1. SUMMARY: COMINFORMIST EMPHASIS IN PRESENT HOSTILE FORCES CAMPAIGN IS WELCOME SIGN OF CONTINUED YUGOSLAV READINESS TO MAINTAIN INDEPENDENCE FROM MOSCOW. HOWEVER, WHILE CAMPAIGN HAS PRODUCED STRAINS IN YUGOSLAV-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP, IT WILL NOT LIKELY RESULT IN PRONOUNCED SHIFT TOWARDS THE WEST. WESTERN-ORIENTED IDEOLOGICAL DEVIATIONS, EMIGRE TERRORISTS BASED IN THE WEST AND FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES IN GENERAL HAVE ALSO COME UNDER ATTACK. HEIGHTENED VIGILANCE AGAINST ALL POTENTIAL SUBVERSIVE INFLUENCES IS LIKELY TO CREATE PROBLEMS FOR AT LEAST SOME AMERICAN OFFICIALS AND TRAVELERS IN YUGOSLAVIA. EMBASSY AND CONSULATE OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, HAVE AS YET DETECTED ONLY LIMITED EVIDENCE OF INCREASED SUSPICION AND MIXED SIGNALS ON COOPERATION ON PART OF YUGOSLAVS. OVERALL STATE OF US-YUGOSLAV RELATIONS NOW FAVORABLE, CONTINUING ON RECENT UPSWING AFTER LOW POINT IN 1973. LOOKING TO FUTURE, GIVEN YUGOSLAV TENDENCY TO ATTACK RIGHT
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AND LEFT IN CYCLES, WESTERN "ENEMIES" COULD BE JUDGED

MOST SERIOUS DANGER AFTER ANTI-COMINFORMIST CAMPAIGN
RUNS ITS COURSE. END SUMMARY.

2. EMPHASIS IN CAMPAIGN AGAINST HOSTILE FORCES HAS BEEN
IN DANGER FROM COMINFORMISTS AND OTHER MOSCOW-ORIENTED
DISSIDENTS. GIVEN US INTERESTS IN PRESERVING YUGOSLAV
INDEPENDENCE, CAMPAIGN IS POSITIVE SIGN YUGOSLAVS
MAINTAIN VIGILANCE AND AWARENESS OF THREAT FROM THE
EAST.

3. HOSTILE FORCES CAMPAIGN, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN FAR FROM
ONE-SIDED. WESTERN-ORIENTED "LIBERALS", CHETNIK AND
USTASHI EMIGRE GROUPS, AND FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SERVICES
IN GENERAL HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY ATTACKED. YUGOSLAV
RESISTANCE TO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE FROM ANY QUARTER HAS
BEEN INCREASED. YUGOSLAV LEADERS REMAIN COMMUNISTS FOR
WHOM US IS IDEOLOGICAL ENEMY. THEY SEE US AS HAVEN FOR
TERRORIST EMIGRES WORKING TO OVERTHROW GOVERNMENT,
AND THEY BELIEVE "CERTAIN CIRCLES" EVEN IF NOT US AS
A WHOLE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING THESE GROUPS. THEY SEE
NON-ALIGNMENT BETWEEN EAST AND WEST AS ONLY POSSIBLE
BASIS FOR THEIR SURVIVAL. THEREFORE, IN SPITE OF SOVIET
MISDEEDS WE BELIEVE THAT YUGOSLAVS WILL BE RELUCTANT TO
JEOPARDIZE THEIR IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP WITH USSR. IN
OUR VIEW ONLY EXTREMELY SERIOUS SOVIET MEDDLING COULD
PRODUCE SIGNIFICANT YUGOSLAV SHIF TOWARDS THE WEST.

4. BECAUSE HOSTILE FORCES CAMPAIGN OMNI-DIRECTIONAL, IT
IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE HEIGHTENED VIGILANCE AGAINST PER-
CEIVED SUBVERSION FROM ALL DIRECTIONS, WEST AS WELL AS
EAST. THOS MOST LIKELY TO FEEL THE EFFECTS OF THIS
SUSPICION, FROM OUR STANDPOINT, ARE DUAL NATIONAL AND
US RESIDENT ALIEN VISITORS TO YUGOSLAVIA. CASES LIKE
THE CONVICTION OF LASZLO TOTTH (REFTEL D) AND POLICE
INTEREST IN AMERICAN STUDENT IN ZAGREB (REFTEL C) MAY
BECOME MORE FREQUENT. LIKELIKE US GOVERNMENT
OFFICIALS MAY BE VIEWED WITH GREATER SUSPICION, BUT
WE DO NOT YET HAVE ENOUGH EVIDENCE TO CONFIRM SUCH A
TREND.

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5. LOOKING AHEAD, HOWEVER, WE FORESEE TIME WHEN PRESENT
CAMPAIGN HAS RUN ITS COURSE AND YUGOSLAVS WILL MOST
LIKELY SWING TOWARD EMPHASIS ON THREAT FROM WEST IN
ATTACKING SUBVERSIVES. BECAUSE OF PRECARIOUS POSITION
BETWEEN EAST AND WEST, YUGOSLAVS HAVE CYCLICALLY SWUNG,
WITHIN LIMITS, BETWEEN TWO POLES. ATTACKING ONE SIDE
NATURALLY ENCOURAGES ADHERENTS OF THE OTHER UNTIL THEY
IN TURN NEED TO BE DISCIPLINED. PRESIDENT OF

MONTENEGRIN LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS RECENTLY SUGGESTED THAT
OVEREMPHASIS ON DANGER FROM LIBERALS AND NATIONALISTS
IN RECENT YEARS ONE REASON FOR RESURGENCE OF COMINFORMISM.
THERE IS NO TELLING HOW LONG THE PRESENT EMPHASIS ON
COMINFORMISTS WILL LAST, BUT ITS END SHOULD NOT BE A
CAUSE OF GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT TO US JUST AS ITS
BEGINNING SHOULD NOT BY ITSELF AROUSE GREAT EXPECTATIONS.
SILBERMAN

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